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The great American crisis,
or cause and cure of the
Rebellion.

By L. M. Smith.



Class 2 2 8

Book 10



THE GREAT AMERICAN CRISIS:

OR

CAUSE AND CURE

OF THE

THE REBELLION:

EMBRACING PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTERS AND PEN-AND-INK PORTRAITS OF THE
PRESIDENT, HIS LEADING GENERALS AND CABINET OFFICERS; TOGETHER
WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE SLAVE Y CONTROVERSY, IN WHICH
IS SUBMITTED A NOVEL PLAN FOR THE FULL AND FINAL
ADJUSTMENT OF THIS VEILED QUESTION.

BY L. M. SMITH,

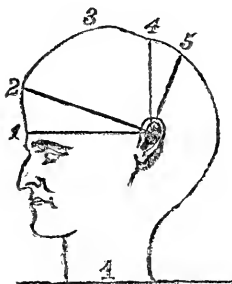
PRACICAL PHRENOLOGIST.

CINCINNATI, O.

JOHNSON, STEPHENS & CO., STEAM PRINTERS.

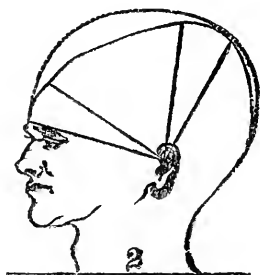
1862.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAMS.

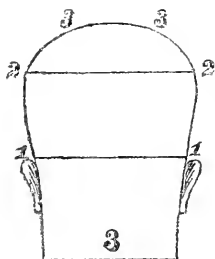


1. Perceptive Intellect small.
2. Reflective intellect large.
3. Veneration very large.
- 4.—5. Firmness and Self-Esteem very small.

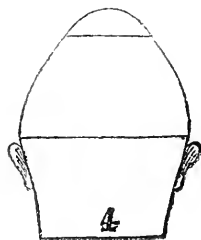
This form of head manufactures and grinds out ideas; the other is simply the storehouse of facts and knowledge.



All are reversed in this head. The organs of Causality and Comparison, called the reflective, are nearly wanting here, and but for the large perceptive in the lower part of the forehead, the mind would border on idiocy. The dotted line shows a well-balanced brain, with all the organs on the middle line of the head largely developed.



1. Combativeness and Destructiveness comparatively small.
2. Cautiousness very large.
3. Conscientiousness very large.



All are reversed in this one.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The first part of the following essay was originally written for publication in the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *St. Louis Democrat*, prior to the issuing of the President's famous emancipation proclamation, and partly with a design of bringing about that result.

It was finished and ready for the press on the very morning of the reception of the "glorious news" from Washington; but as the chief object for which it was more particularly designed was already accomplished, it was not handed in. Several literary gentlemen, however, to whom I had previously read it, and who recommended its publication, suggested that the greater portion of it would still be interesting as a magazine article, and advised me to send it to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Accordingly I sent a copy of it, through Messrs. White & Co., of Boston, to that Journal, but for some reason unexplained, its publication was rejected and I have since been unable to procure it from their office, although it was called for by said White & Co., on several occasions. As I have been repeatedly urged to publish it in pamphlet form, in order to bring the subject matter of the first part of the article before the public, I now yield to those solicitations; though I have delayed it for some time with a view of re-modeling it so as to enlarge upon the descriptive characters of all the generals, and leave out that portion of it pertaining to the proclamation, as it is now inappropriate and out of place. But as I have been unable, from certain causes unnecessary here to mention, to bestow the time and thought necessary for its re-construction, I now submit it entire, as at first written, with the exception of a few notes added to the original, and an Appendix, enlarging still further upon the slavery question in connection with the present crisis—embracing a new plan for the full and final adjustment of this much vexed question. This, however, I have been urged to do on account of a disposition on the part of a large portion of the people of certain States, whose elections have already occurred, not to acquiesce in the proclamation; thinking, perhaps, that what I have said upon the subject, might present some additional reasons why such a document should issue. In this light, it may not, after all, be so inappropriate; and if it have the effect, in any degree, to cause the people to yield a more hearty support to the Executive in crushing out the Rebellion, by all legitimate means, however *stringent*, it will pay the perusal. How-much-soever the President may have been remiss in conducting the war heretofore, he certainly is now upon the right track, and if he would only get rid of a few more clogs which block the wheels of government, he would still be able to steer the Old Ship of State safely through the fearful storm, and yet bring her, sound and unshattered, to the Haven of Peace, though lashed to fury by the mighty waves of rebellion! Although I have never seen any of the persons whose characters I have delineated, except the President and Mr. Banks, yet I am satisfied that I am quite correct, as I have studied their portraits very attentively. In fact, I sent a description of them, as herein written out, to Prof. O. S.

Fowler, of New York, for his opinion as to their correctness; and he said that he had had the privilege of a personal examination of many of them, and that my delineations were so strikingly correct that he could not suggest a single alteration in any particular. Many well-informed persons, who profess to believe in phrenology, will, no doubt, question the ability of any phrenologist, however expert, to determine the cerebral organization of an individual with any degree of accuracy, simply from the picture alone; as they suppose that it is necessary to feel of the "bumps" before giving his opinion; but in this they are very much mistaken, as all the outlines are generally very correctly represented in the portrait; especially if both a front and partial side view be shown, as is the case in most of the leading generals, where a great variety of pictures are exhibited in the numerous shop windows. Of course, when we come to descend to minutia and details, a personal examination is necessary; but in most of instances, the general features and leading traits can be told just as well without. In order to give the reader a general idea of the method of determining the character of an individual from our science, I have caused to be executed, four wood cuts representing the organs and classes of organs upon which I have treated, in different degrees of development, so that the most casual observer can perceive at a glance, how easy it is to tell in extreme cases. When it comes to average cases, or a gradual shading off from one extreme to another, then, of course, it requires long experience and very accurate observation, to determine the exact degree to which any particular organ is developed. Again, the form and size of the brain alone, only indicate the natural character, or what particular faculties and traits naturally predominate; and not the absolute amount of intellectual force which an individual is capable of putting forth, as this depends equally upon the texture and quality of the brain and nervous force—all of which are indicated by the temperaments and certain physiognomical signs, which must always be taken into the account in summing up the character.

The method of determining the size of any particular organ, is by estimating the length, breadth or fullness of the head, in the region of the organ in question.

For instance, a large development of the organ of Firmness is always indicated by the head rising very high on top, as in Figures 2 and 4; while its manifestation will always be weak in conjunction with the form of head indicated by Figure 1. The faculties of Combativeness and Destructiveness will always be strong in conjunction with great breadth and fullness just above and back of the ears, as in Figure 4; while they will always be weak in connection with the form of brain indicated by Figure 3. Compare the head of the bull dog in this respect, with that of the grey hound, and see the contrast! These explanations will apply to all of the organs; but as it is not my present business to teach phrenology, the brief elucidations must suffice for this little work. I have given these illustrations, not merely for the purpose of giving a general idea, but also with a view of inciting investigation, in and calling attention to, what is regarded by its advocates as the greatest discovery that has ever been vouchsafed to man in any age of the world! It is the only key that unlocks the mysteries of the human mind, and enables us to behold the beautiful mechanism and interior workings of the greatest production that has ever emanated from the Great Master Me-

chanic of the Universe ! When we take into consideration its advantages and utility in almost every vocation and department of life, all other sciences sink into relative insignificance.

Its practical value can not be estimated in dollars and cents ; and I look forward to the time, at no distant day, when the education of no person, of either sex, will be considered as complete without a knowledge of phrenology. Were the people of the United States sufficiently versed in this science to enable them to select their rulers from among the good and wise only, we should not now behold the sad spectacle of a Great and Powerful Nation, unlimited in wealth and natural resources, almost completely paralyzed and on the very brink of ruin, from the effects of incompetent statesmen and bad generalship ! In closing my prefatory remarks, I would say that my strictures on McClellan were written at the very time of our supposed overwhelming victories in Maryland, when it was thought that he was about to redeem himself ; and notwithstanding my opinions were apparently to be contradicted by the result, I could not, in justice, concede any more in his favor than what I then allowed him. Since the truth has come to light in regard to those events, I am more strongly confirmed in my previously expressed opinion as to his unfitness to command the army of the Potomac. It has been urged that the officers and men are strongly attached to him and want to fight under no other leader ; and that this is to be taken as an indication of his being the right man to lead them. But let us see if this, admitting the premises to be true, is a legitimate conclusion. One of the greatest objections to McClellan, is that he is too slow and cautious. Now, so long as the men remained under his command, they were in but little danger as he would risk nothing ; but under the generalship of Pope, who is a *fighting* man, they were pretty badly handled and cut to pieces, hence it is no wonder that they were glad to get back under their Old Commander, and at their accustomed business of "guarding Washington," where "all is quiet on the Potomac."

PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTERS

OF OUR LEADING GENERALS, THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET OFFICERS,
ETC., ETC., ETC.

Why has no Great General, capable of leading our armies to victory, been born to this generation ? and why is it that the Administration, in whom the combined Wisdom and Energy of the Nation ought to be centred, has shown itself so inefficient in the conduct of the War, and in meeting the requirements of the present Crisis ? These are questions which have been propounded, either orally or mentally, by almost every loyal citizen throughout the loyal States ; but hitherto no satisfactory solution has been given. I will now endeavor by the light of science, to elucidate them to the best of my humble ability, and, I trust, to the entire satisfaction of the reader's mind. It is now generally conceded by the best of authorities, that the brain is not only the organ of the mind, but that it is a congeries of organs, each one of which serves to manifest a distinct and separate mental faculty ; or in other words that the system of Gall and Spurzheim, technically termed phrenology, is the only correct philosophy of the mind.

This is proven from the fact that talent and genius are almost always partial, and that the strength and vigor of the mind in the aggregate, is always, all other things being equal, in proportion to the volume of the brain, and that the strength of any particular faculty of the mind, is in proportion to the size of its corresponding organ.

It is a common saying that such an individual has a genius for poetry, another a genius for painting, a third a genius for music, and so on to the end of the chapter. An individual in whom the organ of Form is largely developed and Language small, will have an excellent memory of persons so as to be able to readily distinguish them from their countenances, general configuration, etc., while he will be at a great loss to recall their names. Such a combination accompanied with large Individuality, Size, Weight, Constructiveness and Imitation, would make the individual a splendid Artificer. If to these, large Color, Locality and Ideality be superadded, he would make a magnificent land-scape painter ; while, owing to his meager language, he would be totally out of place as an Orator or Linguist. If the perceptive faculties as a class be largely developed and the reflectives comparatively small (which is indicated by the lower part of the fore-head being very prominent, and the upper part receding,) then the individual will show great proficiency as an off-hand, ready, practical man—as a copyist and imitator of what others have done, but will be totally incapable of originating any thing new. While on the other hand, if the reflective faculties decidedly preponderate over the perceptive intellect, then the individual will show more proficiency in planning, originating and generalizing new ideas ; while he will be lacking in details, and be deficient in reducing what he knows to practical application. The former will be your sharp, practical business man ; a perfect master of

facts and details, but will not possess a reputation for originality of conception. The latter will be your sedate, meditative, plodding thinking man—a man capable, perhaps, of originating bold and even brilliant ideas, but will lack the ability to make practical application thereof; hence he will be regarded, especially by the more superficial, as a mere dull theorizer. Now it is plain that the most favorable organization to render the individual equally capable of planning and executing, or in other words of being a universal genius or great man, would be a perfect balance between these two classes of faculties, or a large development of both; though this alone, does not, by any means, constitute a great mind.

In addition to a large and active brain, with a large development of both the perceptive and reflective intellect, the individual should possess large Firmness to give him perseverance in the pursuit of his object until attained; large Concentrativeness to enable him to concentrate his mental powers upon a single object at a time; large Self-Esteem to give him confidence in his own ability; large Combativeness and Destructiveness to give him motive power and force of Character to overcome all obstacles in his path, and, it is hardly necessary to add, large moral organs, as without these he would be only a gigantic machine for evil instead of good. Without these latter qualifications, however great the intellect, the possessor would be like a noble ship at sea without a rudder to steer her, or a Pilot with Chart and Compass to bring her to the desired haven—liable to be tossed about by the watery billows, till wrecked upon the breakers.

With these preliminary illustrations, I presume the reader will now be able to comprehend what would be necessary to constitute a Great General, capable of leading his armed hosts to mortal combat—of knowing when to fight and when to retreat, and when he does pay his respects to the enemy, of knowing just when, where and how to strike to the best advantage. He should possess a large brain with an active vivacious temperament; large intellectual faculties all round; large Firmness, Self-Esteem, Hope, Cautiousness, Combativeness, and Destructiveness. Hope, Cautiousness and Combativeness particularly, should be as nearly balanced as possible; as any great predominance either way, might, in many instances, prove fatally disastrous.

Large Combativeness and Hope with Cautiousness small, would render the individual not merely brave, but bold, venturesome and, at times, even reckless; while the reverse of this Combination would render its possessor timid, desponding, *cowardly*. He should also possess large Secretiveness, or he will be neither capable of retaining his own secrets, nor of ferreting out those of the enemy.

Now when we consider that nature in the bestowment of her gifts, is rarely so munificent as to lavish all these upon any one individual, it does not, after all, appear so strange that among so many leaders we should find so few who even approximate to our ideal of a Great Military Chieftain. No one individual on *our* side,* so far as I have been

*We have no generals who will compare *with* the Rebel General Lee for strategy and natural military genius. I pointed him out as the strongest man on either side, long before he was brought out, and wondered why a man with such a giant intellect should be kept back in obscurity. All of his intellectual faculties are immensely developed, but his moral organization is decidedly *bad*. Stonewall Jackson's brain is

able to discover from the outlines of the physiognomical and phrenological developments, as represented by the *military* portraits, comes up entirely to the standard of the phrenologist; and among those who have already tried their hands at the helm, it is difficult to determine to whom to give the preference. Although McClellan may be a great military man in *some* respects, it is patent to all the world, "and the rest of mankind," that he is a little too slow and "allows his opportunities to slip."

Halleck is a man of large mental calibre, possessing a large and active brain with a predominance of the reflecting faculties. But he possesses an inordinate development of Self-Esteem (indicated by the manner in which the lips are compressed, and the head thrown backward in the line of the organ,) which renders him a little too dignified, and too much bound up in "red tape." No man, however large his stock of information, should consider himself above replenishing or adding to it, by picking up crumbs of knowledge from any source, however humble. Whenever a man comes to the conclusion that all there is in the world worth knowing is pent up in *his* cranium, then there is but little room for progression. This, however, notwithstanding it is a great objection, does not, in any serious degree, impair his qualifications as a military leader if he be all right in other respects.

It would simply cause him to rely too much upon his own judgment, and make him so reserved that none of his subordinates would dare approach him with a suggestion, under any circumstances, for fear of being unpleasantly repulsed. Although he is brave, and possesses moral courage in a high degree, yet I think he is excessively cautious; as the organ appears to be largely developed.

Burnside seems to be lacking a little in some particulars; yet I have great confidence in his ability, and predicted, long before he was assigned a separate command, that he would distinguish himself whenever the opportunity presented. I know not what his acquirements as a military man may be, but so far as *natural* qualifications are concerned, I would sooner trust him than McClellan. He possesses a large brain, with an active temperament, and a strong, tough, wiry constitution. His perceptive intellect is very largely developed, while his reflective is at least full, if not also large.

Firmness is enormous, as is evinced by the great height of the head on top, immediately above the external opening of the ear, while Cautiousness and Secretiveness appear to be rather deficient. Veneration and Benevolence are also large, and I should judge that he has considerable of the religious element in his mental composition, besides being a genuine philanthropist. He is a man of very extensive and accurate observation, and is seldom mistaken in his first impressions.

not so large, but the organs are all *sharp* and *pointed*, hence his great activity and celerity of movement! Lee probably does the planning of his raids, and he executes them.

The organs of the religious sentiments are very strong and prominent, hence he is *a praying* as well as a *fighting* general.

Beauregard is a man of only moderate mental Calibre. He has an active brain with very strong will power, to which he owes whatever of notoriety he possesses, more than to any great depth of intellect. In fact he is quite superficial.

He possesses an intuitive perception of human nature, and can almost read the thoughts of those with whom he comes in contact. He has a keen, penetrating, and expressive eye; and, to use a common phrase, "looks as though he could almost look through a mill-stone!" The eye, as a general thing, is a pretty correct index to the mind; and whatever you find there expressed, you will find, within the mind, the fountain-source from which those expressions come. All the portraits which I have seen of McClellan are taken from a front view, so that it is somewhat difficult to determine from the brain alone, the exact mental calibre; but I have looked in vain for any physiognomical signs which would indicate any thing like a profound and comprehensive mind. There appears, in all of them, a sort of vacant, wild, inexpressive gaze, as though there were no concentration of mental power or deep thought seated there—indispensable qualifications in a successful commander. He is thoroughly posted in military science, but is sadly deficient in originality and resources—hence his peculiar *forte* is in engineering, preparing fortifications, and in organizing and fitting men for service, and not in planning comprehensive campaigns for the maneuvering of large armies in the field.* With a more comprehensive mind to direct and control, he might execute and handle his men to tolerably good advantage. His brain appears to be large at the base, but does not rise high enough to take an elevated and comprehensive view of things. He lacks a high moral tone, and is rather deficient in the finer sensibilities; though, by no means, coarse and vulgar. Banks is a good man, and perfectly reliable under all circumstances.† So is Dix. Butler possesses greater energy and executive ability than any other general in the service. This is owing to a very large and active brain, with great breadth through the base in the region of Combativeness and Destructiveness; great height on top in the region of Firmness and Self-Esteem, and an enormously large perceptive intellect; as is evinced by the great prominence of the organs in the lower part of the forehead. He is, *emphatically*, "the right man in the right place."

Owing to his large Combativeness and Destructiveness, Self-Esteem and Firmness, with the moral organs, particularly Benevolence and Veneration, only moderately developed, he would, under ordinary circumstances, be rather too severe and exacting; but is just *the* man to hold a tight rein over rebels. Wish we had more of the same sort. Pope seems to possess considerable intellectual force with a good deal of energy, but I think he is deficient in many other respects, as the head does not appear

* He is like that class of physicians who, having a great amount of "book learning," and but few ideas, practice according to regular "routine." The organs of Causality being small in their heads they have no resources of their own, and hence are totally wanting in expeditors. Whenever they have a patient they must go according to the "books," instead of adapting themselves to new exigencies as they arise. They talk very learnedly in regard to the case, and, by completely astonishing and overwhelming you with a volubility of words, destitute of all ideas, make you believe that they know all about it, and thus manage to preserve your confidence up to the very hour that death supervenes, when, of course, it is too late to call a *sensible* physician. Now Dr. McClellan thoroughly understands the anatomy and physiology of the case, but has utterly failed to diagnose the disease, and to comprehend its pathology: so the people had better look out or the patient will not long survive under his treatment.

† Banks ought to be the Sec. of State. His organs of Causality are largely developed, and he is a man of excellently good judgment.

to be well balanced. Fremont is a bold, resolute, energetic and determined character; being more of a dashing, adventuresome nature than of a cool, calculating statesman. He is perfectly honest and highly patriotic, but lacks a little in sound discretion. The intellect appears to be tolerably well developed, but I think, from the physiognomy, that he lacks concentration of mental power; besides which he is quite vain, and ambitious in the highest degree. His organs of Ideality and Sublimity are very large, which make him fond of the poetic in nature, and a great admirer of the sublime and romantic—hence his desire for travel in the unexplored wilds of the West, amid the lofty peaks and gorgeous heights of snow-capped mountains, and o'er extended plains and valleys with meandering rivers and dashing cataracts.* His humanitarian organs—Conscientiousness and Benevolence—being large, his impulses and sympathies are always in the right direction.

This, together with his large Approbativeness, which would make him ambitious to take the initiative in a popular movement, and his large Self-Esteem, which would cause him to assume responsibilities, accounts for his great haste in "pitching into" slavery unauthorized from headquarters. His head rises high along the middle line on top, and he is, in most of what I have said of him, the opposite of McClellan. To come down to McDowell, no phrenologist would hesitate a moment in saying that he ought to be at once dismissed from the service. This opinion is not based upon any prejudice growing out of his bad management, but was expressed to the same effect, long before he had shown his hand at all. In running my eye over the first map that was published, containing military portraits, and passing my opinion upon each, I at last came to that of McDowell; which I distinctly stated was the poorest head of all, and totally unfit to fill any important position. No man with a plegmatic temperament, round head, up-turned, pug nose, sunken or hollow at the center, as his portraits all represent him, ever made his mark in the world, or ever will. I never doubted his loyalty, but his mind is too slow and lethargic to act with promptness and decision under any circumstances, which fact has been construed, by many, into sympathy for the enemy. There is no sentiment, no emotion, no pathos in such a sluggish mind to call out enthusiasm upon any subject; which accounts for his apparent apathy in behalf of the Union. Oh, for the want of a little science on the part of

"One great and serious mistake in the American people, is in supposing that because an individual has shown certain praiseworthy qualities in some prominent and conspicuous manner to challenge our admiration, he is necessarily a fit person to fill any position, however high, in military or civil life. Indeed, so great has become the passion to bestow unmerited reward upon individuals who have thus gained notoriety, that we seem to be actuated more by blind impulse, than guided by cool judgment. An Old Military Hero, crowned with laurels won from the bloody field of battle, is elevated to the highest civil office within the gift of the people, merely to be shown how weak he is when out of his element! An enterprising individual, "boiling over" with energy and an insatiable desire for romantic life, makes a break for the wilderness to pursue Indian trails through unbroken forests, guided by an "Old Mountaineer," and the people are struck with admiration for the intrepid "Path-finder," and forth with proclaim him a candidate for the Presidency! A comparative youth shows great proficiency in the *mere rudiments* of generalship, and without knowing fully what he is, or waiting to see what time will bring forth, he is at once christened a "Young Napoleon," and assigned the highest position in the army!

So perfectly infatuated have we become in this respect, that I believe if some enterprising yankee tar were to make his way to the north pole, and perform the daring feat of ascending to the top and standing on his head, we should so greatly admire, that we should want to make him the next President.

the Government, in selecting the proper persons to fill important and trustworthy stations. How my heart has been wrung in anguish at the almost certain prospect of disaster, which I well knew would follow such stupid blunders. An incompetent officer, who is fit only for "a hewer of wood and a drawer of water," is given an important command, and a whole army thereby placed in jeopardy, and, perhaps, sacrificed as a consequence!

Such things might be tolerated with a little more complacency were the proper steps promptly taken to correct such mistakes as soon as discovered; but by some apparently unaccountable and insane policy, the Administration does not seem to profit by experience; but madly insists upon retaining such persons in command, till they are completely "played out" by constant repetitions of failure. Having disposed of the leading generals, let us now pay our respects to the President and his Cabinet. There is a very old and correct adage which says, "as a man thinketh so is he." Now this rule is capable of being greatly enlarged, and should read somewhat as follows: As a man looks, acts, works, walks, writes and talks, so is he. The build of the body, the manner of the walk, the oral and written expressions, whether forcible or otherwise, are all indicative of the character. If the body be too tall and slim, the organs of the brain will partake of the same character; and all those situated on the middle line, running from the root of the nose over the top of the head backward, will be generally large, while those on the side of the head, in the region of Combativeness, Destructiveness, etc., will, as a general thing, be small, and *vice versa*.

The possessor of this form of brain, although the mind may be active, will, owing to the deficiency of the animal organs, in the base of the brain, lack energy and force of character. There may be intellect, but no propelling power to set it in motion.

If an individual be firm, resolute, energetic and business-like, he walks erect, takes long steps and brings the foot down with a hearty good will as though he meant something. If in writing or speaking, he uses strong, emphatic and forcible expressions, it is a sure sign that they come from a mind in which those qualities reside. Now the policy of the President, and his Chief Premier, Mr. Seward, in the conduct of the war, was clearly foreshadowed in their respective writings and speeches prior to the breaking out of the contest. They were mere dry intellectual productions, calculated, perhaps, to feast the reason, but not to vibrate a single chord of sympathy or emotion. Take the speech of Mr. Seward, delivered in Congress during the troublous session of 1860-1, when all eyes were turned to him as the champion of our cause, and what a wishy-washy affair so far as the issue was concerned!

'Tis true that it was splended as a mere intellectual production; but where was that heroic bravery, and true manliness to meet the issue fairly and squarely on its merits?

So fearful was he of offending his masters of the South, and so great the desire to conciliate, that he dared not even pronounce the words slavery and freedom; but it was "Capital States," "Labor States," etc.,. The same tone was distinctly observable in all of Mr. Lincoln's Campaign speeches of 1858. He presented his antagonist, Mr. Douglas, with finely-spun theories and ingeniously-woven arguments in the meshes of which to entrap him; but there was no vehement de-

nunciations of a corrupt Democracy, which for years, had been preying upon the vitals of the government: no stirring appeals made to the people to arouse from their lethargy and shake off the moral incubus which held them spell-bound to their impending fate, ere it be too late! *Nothing that betokened that indomitable energy and determined resolution, which plants its foot firmly upon the wrong and crushes it to earth to rise no more!*

It may be said that this would be out of character in debate; but it was the same in all his speeches under all circumstances.

So it appears that the men who inaugurated the doctrine of the "Irrepressible Conflict," and were the first to proclaim that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," have not the energy and moral courage to meet the issue fairly and squarely when thrust upon them.

This being the constitutional character of the two men whom we have elevated to the highest offices within the gift of the people, we ought not to be surprised at their handling rebels with gloves on for fear of hurting them. But are we to blame them for so doing? By no means. We have chosen them as our agents—directly and indirectly—with just such natural qualifications as nature saw fit to give them, and they are doing the best they know how.

Both are unfortunate in their organizations, so far as ability to meet the present crisis is concerned. Both are deficient in snap and energy, and both have the same type of intellectual faculties—the perceptive predominating over the reflective, so that they fail to take a comprehensive view of the present crisis, and to make provision accordingly. Their bodies are too tall and slender, the base of their brains too narrow, and the upper part of their foreheads too receding.

The physiognomy of Mr. Lincoln shows us a mild, placid and benign countenance, with a philosophic cast of mind, without sufficient force and energy. That of Mr. Seward shows a free and easy expression—a mind perfectly self-poised, and not liable to be thrown off its balance, or disturbed from its usual equanimity under any emergency.* Compare their heads with the bust of Webster, or ever that of Mr. Douglas and see the contrast! They are, in most respects, the antipodes of each other. I voted for Mr. Lincoln in preference to Mr. D., because I believed (and still do) him to be an honest man, and liked his politics better. But Mr. Douglas would have shown far greater energy, and decidedly more ability in crushing out this rebellion.

He would have brought the entire strength of the Government down upon it at once and "wiped it out," because that would have been his forcible, energetic way of doing business. Mr. Lincoln being naturally conservative and constitutionally too tame and passive, would, in the selection of his Cabinet, naturally choose those whose minds were in unison with his own; accordingly we find the majority of its members made up of just such material as himself.

The only ones whose heads indicate anything like that degree of energy requisite for the occasion, are Att'y-General Bates, Secretary Stanton and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase.† The rest all

* Mr. Seward has a Roman nose, and it were well to bear in mind Napoleon's opinion of men with Roman noses.

† The last named Individual not only possesses energy and enterprise, but he has a large development of the reflecting organs—Causality and Comparison—which

individuals, communities, and hence nations, are demoralized by the sin of human slavery.

Suffice it to say that it tends to blunt, nay, brutalize all the higher feelings and finer sensibilities of the mind. The young child reared under the influence of slavery soon learns to imitate the words, actions and gestures of its parent, master and overseer, and becomes proud, haughty, domineering and dictatorial in its intercourse with the young slaves ; and thus the work of demoralization commences in childhood to be continued to the grave. The organs of the animal, passions in the base of the brain, are stimulated and cultivated at the expense of the moral sentiments ; and this continues to increase, by the laws of hereditary descent, from generation to generation, till it finally culminates in a race of aristocratic tyrants who imagine that they were created especially to rule, and every body else to obey. This has been the case with our unfortunate brethren of the South. Now then, in what manner have we, as a Nation, been a party to the crime ? In the first place slavery was forced upon us by the Mother Country, while in a state of colonial vassalage, and after we had revolutionized and thrown off the parental yoke, we were too much in the same condition we now are to attend to it, so it was postponed for a more convenient season.

We had just emerged from a long, bloody, and sanguinary war, and every thing was unsettled and in a state of feverish commotion as to the future. If the politicians and states-men of the day had undertaken to dispose of it *then*, the question of "vested rights of property" would have arisen as *now*, to create still further discords and schisms ; so they patched it up in the Constitution as best they could, and gave it a legacy to posterity.

Its history from that down to the present time is soon told. It has not only continued to increase in area and numerical strength, but its supercilious overbearing impudence has kept equal place, demanding new guarantee after guarantee, and compromise after compromise, till there was nothing left to *compromise* but the Constitution ; and when they demanded that and were refused, then, like a spoiled and petted child, they rebelled against parental authority. Now behold the legitimate fruits of a weak and vacillating policy in dealing with so great a wrong ! Now will our rulers be wise, and, profiting by the experience of the past, improve the present favorable opportunity to sever this moral fungus from the otherwise bright escutcheon of the Nation ? Or will they imitate the unwise policy of our forefathers, and again saddle it upon posterity to run indefinitely, till it finally culminates in a catastrophe so great as to be irremediable ? For *them* there was *some* little excuse ; for *us*, with the experience of the past and present, there is *none*. Not only does the cause of humanity demand that we should act promptly and fearlessly in this matter, but if we design to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, not a day should be lost. While we are marshaling our armed hosts of freedom to the scene of conflict for the commencement of a new campaign, the people of the South are by no means inactive. With the decimated ranks of the old regiments, and the new levies, we shall have an army numbering, in the aggregate, not far from a million of men. Against these the South will be capable of raising at least a million and a half, between the ages of seventeen and forty-five. If she do this—as she undoubtedly will, if she be able

to arm and equip them—then it is plain, taking the past as a criterion, that before we can contend successfully against them, we shall have to make another call for new levies. When we do this, and again outnumber them, then there will be a requisition from the Rebel Government for every able-bodied white male citizen of the South, irrespective of age or condition. If this be done, and the prize of victory be contended for with the same tenacity on both sides that has characterized us so far, it is impossible to tell when and where it will end, and what will be the final result. If foreign nations should continue to remain idle spectators, and see us devouring each other by the million without interference, (a thing quite improbable) then, of course, numbers would in the end tell, and the victory would be ours. But supposing the South should, in her desperation and determination to throw off the yoke of the Yankee Government at all hazards, forestall us in the emancipation movement, and thereby enlist the sympathies of Europe in her behalf?

This would place us in the false position of contending, not for principle, but merely for dominion and empire, while the South would become the champion of liberty in the eyes of European Nations, who would interfere in her behalf, and, of course, we should have to succumb. Now the people of the South are not only prepared to do this, but they have become so embittered against us, that they would rather see their territory divided up among all the monarchies of Europe, thereby becoming mere appendages of their governments, than submit to Yankee rule. A reconstruction of the Union as it *was*,* is a thing

* Would a Union as it *was* be desirable? Have we not suffered enough already to not desire any further fellowship with an institution which will not even tolerate free-thinking, much less free-speech? As I now write a gentleman sits by my side who is a refugee from Texas, having recently run the gauntlet, barely escaping with his life, from thence to New Orleans.

He was born and raised in South Carolina, and has spent all of his days in the Southern States, except a few years devoted to travel in the free States—enough to convince him of the superiority of free society over that of Slavery. He is well known by several prominent business men, and one or two clergymen in this community, who can vouch for his being a gentleman of truth and veracity. Now his only crime for which he was sought to be scourged, and to escape which he had to run the gauntlet of these infernal hell-hounds of slavery, was simply this: Before the breaking out of the war, he took particular pains to correct their mistaken ideas about free society whenever he heard them making invidious comparisons. As soon as the war broke out all of these things were recollected and raked up against him, and when coupled with his *ominous* silence, and his refusal to sing peans to Jeff. Davis, and to utter bitter imprecations against his good Old Uncle, it of course was *prima facie* evidence of his unsoundness on the "goose." Although all of his friends resided there, many of whom were slaveholders, it was not a sufficient guarantee for his safety, unless he would bow down to the Moloch of Slavery. He says that they commenced hounding Northern men for a year before the war broke out, and that the people here have no idea of the number that were thus put out of the way. If a pedlar or any other itinerant Yankee was barely suspected, it was enough. He was taken before a vigilance committee, where he would undergo a mock trial, and the next morning his corpse would be found hanging to a black-jack in some neighboring ravine for the crows and the buzzards to feed upon, and thus hundreds were disposed of. Is this the kind of re-union that the free and intelligent people of the North want? Howmuchsoever they may desire any other, it is the only kind they will get if they ever stop short of completely subduing the haughty and overbearing spirit of Slavery, and eradicating the institution root and branch.

Freemen of the North! which do you prefer? Should you grow weary of fighting in the holy cause of liberty, and begin to relax your efforts, let the remembrance of your skeleton friend, dangling in the air from the limb of a tree in a far-off South, with carnivorous birds picking the flesh from its bones, and plucking the eyes from their sockets, nerve you on to victory!

impossible ; and the only question now to be determined, is whether the territory within the seceded States shall be a separate and independent Confederacy, or, for the present, a military province of the United States.

This is a foregone conclusion, and the sooner the Government wakes up to the fact, and shapes its course accordingly, the better it will be for it.

The only way the South can be brought back into the sisterhood of States, will be by re-peopling it with a different element, and re-constructing her institutions ; and this can not be done, till the old be done away. I do not mean by this that we are to exterminate the people of the South, but simply that if conquered, they will take no part in the government ; and that before our own citizens will intersperse and fill up the vacancies throughout the South, so as to represent her people in the different branches of the government, slavery will first have to be exterminated.

This will certainly be the result if the war be as protracted as it now promises. I will not say but what some unforeseen casualty may transpire to crown our arms with speedy success, and bring the war to an unexpected close.

The fate of armies and the destinies of nations, like the lives of individuals, frequently hang upon very slight and brittle threads. The failure of one of Napoleon's Marshalls to re-enforce him at the appointed time, lost him the battle of Waterloo, sealed his own fate for life, and changed the destinies of Europe. Had a similar casualty happened to the Rebel General Johnston with his re-enforcements at the first battle of Bull Run, the day would have been ours, and the rebellion nipped in the bud ; in which event the annals of war never would have been stained with the bloody record of the past. Had the rebels succeeded in crushing our army before Richmond, as they boldly designed and calculated, and as they might have done in case of certain contingencies which did not transpire, then the Southern Confederacy would now be a fixed fact, and we should be the mere fragment of a broken and dissevered Union.—the disintegrated part of a once glorious and powerful Republic.

Not knowing what the future may bring forth, it is always best to be prepared for the worst. Now as it is conceded on all sides, that the institution of slavery is an element of strength to the south in prosecuting the war, why should we any longer delay to strike a blow where it will be the most severely felt ? I know the difficulties to be encountered in such a course ; but the fact must be kept in view that we are in the midst of the greatest revolutionary crisis the world has ever been called upon to pass through, and that the remedy must be also desperate and equal to the emergency. It, perhaps, was well enough for the President to resist all emancipation schemes at the commencement of the outbreak. So long as the people of the North and South lived together peaceably under the old Constitution, unamended and unabolished, mutually recognizing its provisions as of supreme authority, we were in duty bound, however great our repugnance to slavery, to respect it in the States where it already existed ; and if a portion of our uninformed brethren of the South enlisted under the ban-

ners of their lying hypocritical leaders, with the impression that they were doing so in defense of their homes and institutions, then it was right that the President should, by his acts and deeds, undeceive their minds, and give them an opportunity to discover their mistake and desist. But when they saw that he countermanded the emancipation edicts of his generals, returned them their fugitive slaves and stationed Union guards over their property from the Potomac to the Mississippi; and still persisted in throttling the government which had always protected their rights under all circumstances, then, *most assuredly*, one long year of grace was all that any sane man should have thought of granting. Now, as it is proverbial that the administration is a little weak in the spinal column, I would suggest that we proceed to treat the case the same as we would any other case of spinal weakness, namely: by the application of artificial stays and supports.*

This, I would suggest, should be done in the form of a petition, to be circulated throughout the entire North-West, for the signature of every loyal citizen, which should read somewhat as follows:

To his Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

We, the undersigned, loyal citizens of the North-Western States, in view of the gigantic and terribly-desperate struggle for National existence, in which we, as a Nation, are at present engaged, do hereby beseech you to grant us audience while we call your attention to the following facts concerning the deplorable condition of our unhappy and distracted country. We have now been engaged in a civil and fratricidal war for nearly a year and a half, conducted on a gigantic scale unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare; and, notwithstanding thousands and tens of thousands of valuable lives, including the best blood of the Nation, and millions and hundreds of millions of treasure, have been offered a willing sacrifice on the altar of our country, we, apparently, to-day, are no nearer the end than when we began. Nobly and unsparingly has the country responded to the call of its Chief Executive, in furnishing both men and means to crush out this hydra-headed monster, Rebellion, yet it has continued to gain strength day by day, till it now not only threatens the existence of the Government, but actually menaces, by invasion, our domestic sanctuaries upon the sacred soil of the Free States. And while we are still unflinching in our determination to crush out this wicked and unholy rebellion, *at all hazards, cost what it may*, yet we, as a people, to whom all rightful authority belongs, and from whom all Governmental powers emanate, have a right to demand that it be done in the most direct and expeditious manner possible with the least loss of life and bloodshed on both sides of the belligerents.

If, as we believe, and as the rebels themselves have always declared from the commencement of this contest, their peculiar institutions be a

* Mr. Lincoln is not, by any means, deficient in the organ of Firmness; but being highly conscientious and extremely cautious, with only a moderate endowment of Self-Esteem, he is so averse to assuming responsibilities, and so fearful of taking a false step, that he is, at times, too undecided and vacillating; but when he once makes up his mind both as to the right and expediency of a measure, he is as firm and immovable as the Rock of Gibraltar. His intuitions invariably point in the right direction; but when he would take the first step the influence of the conservative party intervenes, and, by partly persuading and partly intimidating managers to keep him completely poised or oscillating between two oppositely-attracting forces; and thus, what energies he does possess, are nearly paralyzed for good.

bulwark of strength to them in prosecuting this unnatural warfare, by enabling them to bring into the field all their able bodied men, while their slaves remain at home to raise the only means of sustenance for their armies and families: then we most clearly are recreant to our duty, and actuated by a suicidal policy, if we any longer delay to strike a death-blow to the Rebellion by attacking it in its most vulnerable and vital point. We believe that if a proclamation of emancipation to all slaves throughout the Insurrectionary States were to emanate from you, and the necessary machinery set in motion to carry it into practical operation, it would have the effect to disperse their armies in the field, and to render them practically inefficient; as they could no longer hold together after this great artery, which is the life and nutritive system of the Rebellion, shall have been sundered in twain. The other and only alternative left us to bring the war to a final termination, is to put man against man for the one and a half millions which they will be capable of bringing into the field, and continue the death-struggle for victory till one-half of both armies become annihilated, and the one or the other finally worried into submission.

Taking this view of the question, we humbly pray that you will forthwith place a competent leader at the head of our Western Army, arm him with a proclamation of emancipation to all slaves in the Rebellion States, and let him march immediately to the heart of the Rebellion to carry it into practical execution.* Will you grant us this our humble petition, and thereby bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, by removing its producing cause? Or will you pursue the other course, and thereby prolong the war indefinitely, till the hearth-stone of every family throughout the land be draped in mourning—till every foot of the sacred soil of Columbia's once happy land be drenched in fraternal blood, and till our posterity, for all coming generations, shall be burdened with an enormous debt, which no time will serve to liquidate? The cause of humanity, both North and South, forbid the latter course, if it can be accomplished by the former. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Now, then, it may be asked, supposing this course to be determined upon, what would be the proper programme for carrying it into effect? I will give *my* views, but they may not be the best. I would take the entire Army of the West, which, including the new levies, would probably number not far from 200,000 men, and clean the rebel-
out of Kentucky first.

Then I would march for East Tennessee, and "wipe them out" there—freeing all their slaves as I proceeded. From thence I would pass into Georgia, not only liberating all slaves as I progressed, but I would send out detachments to abolish all other institutions that might be of service to the enemy; such as all foundries and machine-shops

* It will not do to depend too much upon proclamations of any character, without at the same time instituting energetic measures to carry them into effect, and to do this every available soldier should be so disposed of as to "carry the war into Africa," leaving the border States for the time being to take care of themselves. Let our armies concentrate and march immediately for the heart of "Dixie," arm the slaves as fast as they are liberated, and thus make short work of it. If necessary let the militia be called out to protect the border (Free) States from invasion, so that every soldier can be spared. Unless this be done our army will dwindle away by disease and the casualties of the battle-field, till we shall have to make another call for new levies.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has declined from 1.1 billion to 800 million. The number of people who are malnourished has declined from 1.5 billion to 1 billion. The number of people who are obese has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million.

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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Secretary of the Navy, dated March 1, 1899. The letter is addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C. The letter is signed by the President of the United States, William McKinley.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the War, dated March 1, 1899. The letter is addressed to the Secretary of the War, Department of the War, Washington, D.C. The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long.

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the universal reign of terror which would everywhere prevail ; and thus the war would be brought to a speedy and successful termination with comparatively small loss on both sides, from this time out. This would make a right nice Winter's campaign for our Western boys, and let it be announced as a programme for future operations, and 50,000 additional volunteers from the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, would throw up their hats to be "counted in." Now let us see what will be the probable result of the course likely to be pursued by those in command. It is already announced that 40,000 negroes are engaged in throwing up entrenchments, and otherwise fortifying on the Rappahannock.

The Rebels will retreat behind these works, and make a stand to dispute the onward march of our pursuing Army. To storm these fortifications, and take them by hard fighting, would cost us, probably, from 30,000 to 50,000 men. By the time this difficulty shall have been surmounted, we shall be so exhausted with the fatigue of battle that we shall want at least a few weeks, if not months, to recuperate and repair damages. In the mean time the Rebels will fall back for the same purpose, and while also resting will be filling up their decimated ranks with new conscripts from the South, and have their negroes throwing up new fortifications ; and thus they will be prepared to contest every inch of ground from Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico.*

Now then let me ask you gents of the "Butternut Democracy," who will probably throw up your hands in holy horror at the course which I have chalked out ; which is the most valuable and sacred ? the so-called right of these infernal traitors (who have raised the standard of rebellion against one of the best Governments that ever existed, thereby forfeiting all right and claims of its protection to both life and property,) to continue in bondage four millions of human beings, with the still further design of making them unwilling instruments in their hands to continue this wide spread desolation ? or the lives of the thousands and tens of thousands of our fathers, sons and brothers, who will yet be called upon to offer themselves a sacrifice upon the altar of our country ? If you are a "war democrat," and say

*Although it may now be too late to carry out the military part of this programme, it is not too late, however, to throw large forces in the rear of Richmond to tap the railroads leading from thence South, so as to cut off their supplies—the most important move that can be made on the military chess-board. There is no use in trying to conquer a foe by pursuing him into the mountain fastnesses of a wilderness country, and giving him battle on ground of his own selection, where advantage is in his favor.

The enemy being well acquainted with the topography of the country, will, of course, select the best position to fortify, and thus he will be prepared to defend himself against an attack by greatly superior numbers, so that we should have to outnumber him, probably three to one, in order to insure success. And even in the event of dislodging him, it, probably, would be at a sacrifice so great that we should be unable to follow up the victory ; so that nothing, in reality, would be gained but an immense slaughter on both sides.

Now the loss of men and horses, and the enormous expense attending transportation overland in such a country, would soon exhaust the government ; while we would be doing but comparatively little to weaken the strength of the enemy. Again, as the Rebels are fitting out a large fleet of iron steamers in England, and as there is a good deal of speculation about foreign intervention—which should not be tolerated under any pretext whatever—the government should lose no time in repossessing itself of the ports of Mobile, Savannah and Charleston,

let the negro alone and prosecute the war unto subjugation, we will put your patriotism and sincerity to the test. If you are a true patriot, and love your country above all things earthly, and consider no sacrifice too great to secure its perpetuity, you, of course, would not refuse to send your only son to battle for the cause of freedom. Now if among the thousands of additional lives that will be required to put down the rebellion by pursuing the latter course, you actually knew your darling boy would be included, would you make the sacrifice for all the "niggers" and "nigger drivers" on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line? That's the question, gentlemen, and we insist upon holding all *honest* men to it. For *traitors*, and *their sympathizers*, we have no arguments but a hempen cord with a noose at one end of it. Besides these considerations, there is another phase of the subject to be taken into the account. Four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, of the men who compose the rank and file of the Southern Army are non-slaveholders, and not at all interested in the institution except so far as its abolition would be an incalculable benefit to them. They are poor men whose families depend upon their daily toil for their only support, and who have been forced to take up arms in behalf of a cause in which they have no direct or remote interest. Their lives are just as dear and precious to *their* families, as are our own to *ours*.

Now if the war be allowed to drag along as heretofore, the entire South will be bankrupted in any event, so that they will be incapable of looking after the thousands of widows and orphans which they are daily turning out; and the amount and extent of suffering and misery throughout the entire land, will beggar all description. The widow's wail of distress and the orphan's cry for bread, which will go up daily from the altars of thousands of impoverished and starving families, will be truly awful! If for no other consideration than as a mission of mercy to the people of the South, we ought to put a stop to this war by extirpating its cause. The cause of Humanity, the cause of Christianity, and every other consideration, human and Divine, demand that we should do it as speedily as possible. The time has opportunely arrived, and I think the masses of the people are ready for it, but the Administration stands in the way.

Now I would further suggest, that the clergy of the various religious denominations throughout the land, should take hold of this matter, and, by a united concert of action, in getting up petitions to be circulated by the ladies, set the ball in motion. They, as a class, are exempt from military duty, and less burdened with the care and responsibility of the war, and can best afford the time; besides being better fitted, from their avocations, to take the lead in a matter of such grave importance. The ladies would be the proper persons to circulate it, as they would be indefatigable in their efforts to see that no one be slighted; besides who, but a man with a head of wood and a heart of stone, could resist their eloquent appeals in behalf of their fathers, sweethearts and brothers, now enrolled under the banners of freedom in defense of their country's liberties?

APPENDIX ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION

EMANCIPATION GRADUAL AND COMPENSATED, *vs.* EMANCIPATION IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL.

A NEW PLAN SUBMITTED FOR THE FINAL DISPOSITION OF THE "NEGRO" CONTROVERSY.

Since the foregoing was written, the President has at last "taken the bull by the horns;" and all that is now wanted on the part of the people, is a hearty co-operation in sustaining a measure which should have been adopted at least six months sooner, but better late than never. As was to have been expected, it has met with a hearty response from one party, and decided opposition from another.

Whether the large Democratic gains in the recent elections of some of the States, are to be taken as a manifestation of displeasure against this measure, or as an indication of a want of confidence in the present Administration to put down the Rebellion—thinking that no change can be for the worse—I am unable to say; but one thing is certain, namely: that the leaders of that party, particularly those of the Vallandigham wing, are determined to oppose it by every obstacle they can throw in its way. The basest and most selfish passions of the people are appealed to, to engender opposition to the measure; and nothing that human ingenuity can devise will be left undone to defeat the object of the proclamation, and prevent its being carried into practical operation. They tell them that the North will be overrun with free negroes, and that white labor will not only be degraded, but will be reduced to a mere nominal value, than which nothing is more fallacious.

In the first place, the Torrid Zone is the natural birth-place and home of the Ethiopian; and he is as naturally attracted to the Tropics, as is the magnetic needle to the Poles. Were all the slaves of the Southern States liberated, instead of their coming North, nearly all the blacks now here would emigrate to the South, where they would be attracted by both congeniality of climate and society.

I have talked with many a fugitive from slavery upon this subject, and they are all unanimous in their preferences for the South, were it not for their system of human chattelhood. So we see that instead of its being an objection to the laboring classes in the Free States, it would operate in their favor; as it would tend to diminish the supply, and, of course, enhance the value of labor just in proportion to the diminution in the number of laborers.

The next objection urged by these gents of the "Butternut Democracy" is, "That it is unconstitutional!" How wonderfully squeamish and sensitive they are upon constitutional matters! It is not unconstitutional for a portion of the people to rebel, without cause or provocation, against the Federal authority; seize upon forts, arsenals, arms, and ordnance, to the amount of millions of dollars, and turn them

against the Government to destroy its very existence! It is not unconstitutional to incite insurrection in the midst of a happy and prosperous people; to develop intestine war throughout the entire length and breadth of the land—converting the quiet citizens of a docile and hitherto peaceable Nation into armed battallions of marauding soldiers, to deluge the country with fraternal blood, and carry war, carnage, desolation and death wherever they go! It is not unconstitutional to rob and plunder quiet and inoffensive citizens of their property, lay waste their homes, hang and shoot men by the scores, and send their families adrift, destitute and penniless, for no other crime than fidelity to their Government! It is not unconstitutional to roam the high seas with piratical crafts, manned with worse than heathen pirates, to prey upon the commerce of the world, and to destroy the property of non-combatants to the amount of millions of dollars! It is not unconstitutional to force loyal citizens unwillingly from their homes, compelling them to fight in the infernal ranks of Secession, to be shot down by their friends, thereby creating widows and orphans by the hundreds and thousands, to bemoan their untimely deaths!

No! we hear nothing from these gentlemen about the illegitimacy of these high-handed acts; but all their invectives and vials of wrath are reserved to be poured out upon the devoted head of poor Mr. Lincoln, for making use of about one-fourth of the means to which he is legitimately entitled to put a stop to these outrages. Stop to quibble about constitutional matters when the very life and existence of the Government is at stake! As if a man were to hesitate about trespassing upon his neighbor's well for a bucket of water when his house is on fire; or to parley with the burglarious assassin about legal forms, when he is about to drive the dagger to your heart. What nonsense! Put out the fire of your domicile first, and settle with your neighbor for the trespass afterward.

The first and most important duty of the chief Executive, is to preserve the government—*constitutionally* if he can, and if not in that way, to do it *any how*.

I might quote from the two Adams' Story, and hosts of other eminent authorities to show the right of a nation at war with any other belligerent power, to confiscate their slaves, or do any other act necessary to preserve its own existence, and to cripple the power of the enemy; but it is not for precedents and authorities that they seek, but only for some flimsy and shallow pretext to defeat our arms, and turn the country, body and soul, over to the copartnership firm of Jeff. Davis, the Devil & Co.

I claim that the President has not only the right, as a war measure, to free all slaves in the insurrectionary states, but that he also has the right, under existing circumstances, to free *all* slaves—and that too, without compensation—throughout the United States. This, I claim, he has a right to do as a sanitary measure to purge the moral, political and social atmosphere of a noxious miasm which has poisoned and polluted, with its pestilential breath, the very Fountains of Justice and Liberty from which our institutions flow.

Of the right of even civil authorities to commit similar acts, under much less urgent circumstances, we have an abundance of precedents. A man constructs a mill-dam at great expense, and rears expensive

buildings upon the site to carry on the manufacture of flour—a perfectly legitimate business. The dam causes the water to overflow a large area of country, causing the water to stand in stagnant pools, from which a miasm is engendered that endangers the health of the community, and, as a sanitary measure, the authorities decide that it must come down; thereby involving the owner in a loss of all his outlay of capital, without compensation.

A still-house is erected within the limits of some corporation, or perhaps upon some isolated vacancy, which is afterward built up, and, the health of the community being endangered, the authorities decide that it must be removed or torn down at the expense of the owners.

An immense conflagration is raging with great violence in a large and populous city; and in order to stop the progress of the flames and save as much property as possible, certain buildings in the line of its progress are blown up—whether the owner will or no—when it is not positively certain that the devouring element will reach thus far.

All of these examples are contingencies which are provided for in no constitutions, and in the laws of no country; yet the people acquiesce in them as necessities upon the principle that the convenience of the few, must always be subordinate to the good of the many.

Now since it is conceded that the dominating and aggressive spirit of slavery has been the fermenting cause of our national difficulties; costing us thousands and hundreds of thousands of valuable lives, and hundreds of millions of treasure; why have we not the same right to insist upon its *immediate* and *unconditional* suppression? upon the principle that the peace and quiet of the Nation inexorably demand it.

Like causes, under like circumstances, invariably produce like results in the moral as well as in the physical world; and the system of human Slavery tends to foster pride, vanity and all the baser elements of human nature, as much as the stagnant water tends to engender noxious and miasmatic exhalations; and it is just as absurd and unphilosophical to talk about the gradual abolition of the one, as it is of the other.

What would we say of the sanity of that man who should suggest the gradual abatement of the nuisance caused by the mill-pond, so as to give the owner a chance to make a fortune while his neighbors were being stricken down with disease caused by the continuance of his business? Or of the man who, seeing a strong athletic fellow in the act of soundly thrashing a man greatly his inferior in physical strength, should say to him, don't stop too soon, but let him off gradually or you will hurt him?

Now if slavery be an evil to both the black and white races, no time is too soon to abolish it; and the sooner the better for all parties interested. As to compensating the so-called owner, let me ask from whom did he obtain his title that he has a right to demand compensation? Let him show a bill of sale from the joint maker of all mankind, or cease to urge his claims.

But it has been urged that it would be unjust to rob him of all his property at once, and thereby deprive him of his accustomed means of support. To this, I reply that it is taking no portion of his *property*, but simply placing him on an equal footing with the agricultural classes of the North.

In the first place few men at the South own slaves who do not at the same time own land, horses, mules, farming implements, and all other species of property appertaining to agricultural pursuits, and necessary to carry on the operations of farming: and instead of living upon the unrequited toil of forced labor, they would have to go to work themselves, or else pay the laborer a reasonable compensation for his services, and sport something less expensive than gold-headed canes, and chronometer watches, and make shorter visits at fashionable watering places.

Take all the slaves from their masters to-day, and the planters of the South would be far wealthier than an equal number of farmers at the North: because their farms would average several times larger, and the animals and farming implements necessary to work them, would be as much greater in proportion. Then again, there is this advantage in favor of the people of the South: All persons there engaged in agricultural pursuits, are the owners of the land which they till; while a large proportion of the people who are engaged in the same pursuits in the North, are renters, and have to pay from one-third to one-half of the products of their labor to the owners as rent.

Now where is the justice in taxing these poor men, who don't own a foot of mother earth in the world, to help till the farms of these rich nabobs down South, who own their thousands of acres of land, and their thousands of dollars worth of personal property?

Ye hard-working yeomanry of the North, are you willing to submit to it? Methinks I hear a universal acclamation of NO!

Forced emancipation, though it be *gradual* and *compensated*, is just as unconstitutional as though *immediate* and *unconditional*; and if it be adopted by the President as a *war* measure, why not go the whole figure at once, and done with it? The infernal institution has already cost us enough now, without paying out additional hundreds of millions to those who have brought the difficulty upon us.

Before the war, it would have been a measure of policy and economy for the Government to have bought up all the slaves at a fair valuation, and set them free: but since slavery has forced the war upon us, already costing an expenditure of treasure sufficiently large to have bought up all the slaves in the country—to say nothing of the loss of life, and happy homes made desolate and miserable forever—let us now meet the issue manfully, and fight it out to the bitter end, if necessary.

In addition to compensated emancipation in the border or non-seceded States, Mr. Lincoln proposes to saddle the additional expense upon the country of colonization to Liberia or Central America—enough of itself to bankrupt the Nation without the additional burden of the war debt. Now let me suggest a less expensive and more feasible plan of getting them out of the way, provided it be deemed better, for both races to be separated—an opinion in which I concur.

The State of Texas is situated in the extreme South-Western part of the United States; with the Gulf of Mexico on the South, the Mexican States on the West, and the Indian Territory on the North—being almost isolated from the balance of the States.

In extent it has an area of 237,504 square miles, being nearly six times as large as the State of Ohio, with a warm and genial climate, and

a rich and fertile soil, well adapted to the raising of all the leading staple productions of the South, such as cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, etc., etc. Now let this State be set aside especially for the Negro and his posterity. Let the Government divide up the public domain into ten-acre lots, and make a deed of one tract to each male over twenty-one years of age, who will emigrate there and live upon it.

When the slaves are liberated let them understand that they must remain where they are and work for wages till they can earn enough to remove to their new homes, at their own expense, and set up business for themselves. This plan would involve the Government in no very great expense, and would prevent any great and sudden revolution in the (now) slaveholding States; as many of them would have to remain a long time before getting means enough for an outfit, and to open their small farms. Of course, some would do this much sooner than others, and the change would be so gradual that the farmers would have ample time to introduce white laborers, and thus prevent any great and sudden shock.

This would hold out an inducement to the blacks to be industrious and put in all their time; besides, by this plan, none of the producing classes would be withdrawn from the United States, as it would be only a change from one State to another. Of course, they should be nurtured and looked after by the Government till they become able to take care of themselves. Let the jurisdiction of the United States remain over this Territory as now; but if represented in Congress, let it be by white men.

As soon as they become sufficiently settled to assume some form of order and organization, let them have the privilege, the same as their Indian neighbors, of regulating their domestic matters in their own way, so long as they conform to the usages of civilized society.

This Territory would be capable of supporting a population of forty or fifty millions; and, as they increase so as to require new territory to which to emigrate, let them go Southward, among the Mexicans and mixed races of Central America, with whom they more naturally affiliate.

Almost completely isolated from the balance of the United States, they would give us no trouble, and we should know but little more of their existence than we do of their red-skin neighbors in the Indian Territory.

How much more humane and just would be this plan, than to send them adrift in some foreign country. They are just as much natives of this country as we are. *Their* forefathers came from Africa, and *ours* from Europe; that is the only difference.

Now the next question that arises is, What is to be done with the white population already there? This is very easily disposed of. Pay the few loyal citizens for their land, and let them go where they please;* confiscate the land of the Rebels and let them go back to the States from whence they emigrated, and take the places of the liberated slaves as white laborers.

Ten acres of land, cultivated in any of the leading staples of the South, are as many as one hand can cultivate: and the product of this

*Should the loyal whites object to removing, let them remain, as there is more than enough of the Public Dominion to settle every Negro in the United States.

would be sufficient to support him-self and family in a comfortable manner. One cotton-gin and press would be sufficient for a neighborhood, and these could be built at first by white men of capital, who would do the work for a small percentage of the return—the amount to be fixed by the Government so as to prevent their being demanded.

As their families increase, they would require more land to till, so the whole State could be parcelled out into ten-acre lots, and every alternate one reserved by the Government to sell to all sea-roving, whenever they might want, and be able to pay for it.* Till would eventually bring in a revenue more than sufficient to pay all expenditures in their behalf.

The Americans, as a race, have the domestic propensities all strongly developed, and take great delight in having a home of their own; and with these incentives to be replaced before them, they would redouble their industry, and thus their former masters would get more profits from their compensated labor, during what time they remained with them, than they would if they were compelled to work under the stimulus of the lash.

People may say what they please about the indolence of the Negro; but I have travelled nearly all over the South, staying on their plantations night after night, for months in succession, and I can only say from personal observation, that I know not a class of persons who will undergo the same amount of labor and fatigue for twice the consideration that the slave will. I have known them to work for weeks nearly one-half of the night, earthening in the field all day long, for a very small consideration, when which to purchase some extras to "walk-back." Some of the masters are kind enough to allow each of their slaves a small patch of ground to cultivate in, in order to fatten a few pigs and poultry; but for this purpose, and for house-keeping, the time required to do this has to be put in out of seasonable hours. Now when the reader is informed that the slaves on all the large plantations in the sugar and cotton-growing States, have to get up in the morning in time to get their breakfasts, feed and harness their mules and get to the field—sometimes a mile or two distant—by the break of day, and there remain as long as they can see to follow a furrow, then turn out, go home, and water and feed their stock and cook their own supper, because they can eat them, and then perform this excruciating labor, as he prepared to say that the Negro is lazy and indolent?

Where is there any other class of laborers who would perform the same amount of work for double the consideration? In addition to what I have stated above, I will furthermore remark that in the sugar plantations, during the grinding season, a period which generally lasts about three months, the Negroes are obliged to work hard through the day, as well as work one-half of the night—be it the first half, and at other set the latter half. This fact may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless true.

* Were the whole State divided up into ten-acre lots, and one family assigned to each separate tract, it would thus contain 114,000 families, and allowing each family to contain five persons, it would thus sustain a population of 570,000.

* Perhaps the reader may be curious to know the profits of this labor to the owner, and the consideration which the slave receives therefor.

During my travels and residence in the South, from 1847 to 1851, a period of

But it is objected that the Negro has no intelligence, and that his labor would be unproductive unless guided by intelligent white men. This is an assumption which is not confirmed by the facts in the case. In many instances the labor on the smaller plantations is conducted exclusively by the blacks—the overseer himself being also a slave.

I have known of many instances in the South where the slaves have hired their time of their masters, and, by working on their “own hook,” or by sub-letting themselves to others who would pay them an advance, manage in this way to lay up enough to finally pay for themselves, and subsequently become very wealthy.

I have known of many instances where men make it a point to buy up all good mechanics and hire them out by the day—thus subsisting exclusively upon the profits of their labor. So we see that the intelligence of the slaves supports themselves and their masters too—the latter in the most extravagant style at that.

It is true that in certain districts where they are kept and worked like beasts of burden, never being allowed the privilege of going beyond the limits of the plantation upon which they were born and raised, we find many of them in a very low degree of intelligence. But is this to be wondered at when we consider that their brains are totally robbed of the exercise necessary for the development of their moral and intellectual natures, and their muscles overtasked and strained to their utmost tension, to add to the already overflowing coffers of their selfish, avaricious masters? How long would the most highly-developed of the Anglo-Saxons remain what they are under the same treatment?

Place the most stringent laws upon your statute-books to starve his intellectual nature; rob his God-given faculties of their proper food and stimulus, degrade your fellow-man to a level with the brute creation, and then stigmatize him as a brute in human form with no soul!

O! Christianity, where is thy shame? Humanity, where is thy blush?

Again, it is urged that white laborers can not endure the climate of the South so as to take the places of the slaves. This is another assumption which also needs confirmation. The most unhealthy locality I know of in the whole South, is in the vicinity of New Orleans;

nearly four years, a good field hand, on a cotton or sugar plantation, would average from four hundred to five hundred dollars per annum; while he would earn from five to six hundred in cultivating tobacco.

Now as an equivalent for this gain to his master, he received two suits of clothes, made of the very coarsest and cheapest material, and two pairs of coarse brogans (costing then \$1 pr pair,) per annum, besides his weekly rations—consisting of one peck of corn meal, three pounds of bacon, and one quart of sirup, with no condiments, (except a little salt,) tea or coffee. In fact *nothing else* unless purchased by himself from the earnings of extra labor performed out of seasonable hours.

What outrage upon humanity! One individual being allowed to thus amass wealth from the brains and muscles of one thousand or more of his fellow-beings—if he be able to own that many, as many of them do—for his profligate children, who know not its value, to squander in debauchery, and riotous licentious living! Humanitarians of the North! shall these things be longer endured in a civilized and christian community?

Under ordinary circumstances, or the reign of peace, we could not, constitutionally, and without violating a breach of contract, meddle with it; but since the people of the South have, themselves, broken down and repudiated all constitutional barriers, let us now break asunder the accursed chains of slavery, and let the bondman go free!

yet it is a well known fact that the bulk of the labor performed on the levee is done by white men.

Even in the Southern part of Florida I have known white men who would go into the cypress swamps and get out as many slaves in a day as the most stalwart Negro.

In fact, I know of no part of the South—and I have traveled in nearly all parts—where every variety of work is not performed by the poor whites with as much ease and facility as by the blacks. But in the plan which I have proposed for the final settlement of the Negro question, this objection would be of no force, admitting it to be true, as none of the labor devoted to the production of the staple articles of the South, so necessary to the convenience and industry of the world, would be withdrawn from the United States.

In this event the planters of the South could either employ laborers from the overstocked portions of Europe, where they have so great a surplus as to be unable to find remunerative employment, or divide up their plantations into small farms, and each man till his *own* soil, and earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, the same as the “small-fisted farmers,” “greasy mechanics,” and “filthy operatives” of the North do.

Until Slavery be completely eradicated we can have no peace on a firm and durable basis, no matter in what manner the war may finally terminate. So long as it be allowed to exist and increase in numerical strength, the more important it becomes, and the greater the difficulty in removing it.

I have not now the data at hand upon which to base a calculation as to its increase in the future; but it is easy to perceive from the rapid multiplication of their numbers during the past, that at the end of half a century they would number many millions, probably not far from eighteen or twenty—a beautiful legacy to transmit to posterity! A servile population of eighteen or twenty millions, kept in a semi-savage state, with wild and untamed passions, ready to burst forth at any moment and overwhelm the whites in their midst, like the sudden eruption of a huge volcano, burying all beneath its ruins!

Owing to the indolence of the whites in the South, and their unnatural practices of intermarrying with blood relations to keep the property in the family, the natural tendency is for them to degenerate and run out, while the negroes are encouraged to breed to an indefinite degree for the profits of the increase.

Now with a knowledge of this state of things, it requires no great stretch of prophecy to divine that not many years will elapse before the blacks will commence a war of extermination against their oppressors—the whites. With a knowledge of these facts staring him full in the face, the pro-slavery man is not satisfied with the natural increase of the evil; but with a brain frenzied with an *unquenchable thirst* for gold, and an abnormal passion for *lust* and *power*, he madly insists upon importing still greater numbers from the land of their nativity, as if the evil would not of itself increase so as to bring about his destruction soon enough.

Notwithstanding this is, confessedly, the chief Corner-Stone upon which the people of the South have reared their so-called Confederacy, the Democrats have the impudence and effrontery to call us the “Negro

Party!" "Negro Worshipers!" "Wooly Heads!" etc. The "Wool," geeman, and "worship," too, is all on the other side.

This naturally brings us to the consideration of the next and last great "bug-aboo" with which the Democracy pretend to be horrified, and with which they try to frighten people out of their senses whenever the subject of emancipation is broached, namely: "social equality" and "amalgamation." This is a question of science, governed exclusively by the laws of affinity—mutual attraction and repulsion—which are just as fixed and immutable as is the law of gravitation, or any other law pertaining to the physical Universe; and, therefore, need not give us any trouble. Wherever there is a wide and marked difference in the plane of development of two individuals, whether they be of the same nationality or no, there is no affinity or attraction, but rather a mutual repulsion. We see this law exemplified in society wherever we go, and under all circumstances. The intelligent seek the society of the intelligent, and the low and undeveloped seek the society of those for whom they have a natural affinity: and thus "the character of an individual is known from the company he keeps." The loafing gambler, whenever he goes to a new place, soon finds his natural level in the numerous gambling-hells which infest all civilized communities; and he would be just as much out of his element in more refined society, as would be the wise and intelligent in *his*.

Now as it is an undeniable fact that the Negroes, as a race, are on a lower plane of development than the more highly favored races of the Earth, there is no danger of the more intelligent portion of the white race mixing up with them, and thus placing themselves on the same plane of social equality. This they do not, with the same class of persons of their own color; much less with the blacks, where their wooly hair, black skins, coarse and uncouth features, make them still more repulsive. It is only with that class of whites who are degraded below the negro, where we find social equality and amalgamation practically carried out; and judging from the number of "yaller" ones annually turned out in the Southern States, we should say that they have *some* white people there who are on a rather *low* plane of development. So, in these instances, the negro is *equal* to the white man, and the white man is on a *dead level* with the negro.

But because the Negro is inferior, in many respects, to the Anglo-Saxon white man, is this any reason why he should be degraded still lower, and robbed of his natural rights, "THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." In *these* respects, *all* men, of *all* colors, and of *all* nationalities, are by nature, *free* and *equal*. *

* If men would consult their consciences—the God-principle within them—instead of the musty records of a semi-barbarous age, they would find no authority for human slavery. The greatest difficulty, however, is, that the apologists of slavery *have* no consciences, or if they have a piece of one, it is like India-rubber—rather stretchy. I have never seen a pro-slavery man, *in principle*, who had the organs of Conscientiousness and Benevolence both largely developed. I have occasionally met with such persons in the South who were practically slaveholders; but I always found them perfectly approachable upon the subject, and free to admit, as well as to deplore, the existence of the evil.

In many of the slaveholding States their Statute Laws prohibit their citizen from emancipating their slaves, were they ever so much disposed so to do; thus preventing men from acting according to their conscientious convictions of right and wrong. There are many persons, no doubt, who sincerely believe that slavery

If we are to make a distinction in favor of intellectual superiority and social condition, then the more advanced in this respect, would subjugate and reduce to servitude all of those below themselves, and thus the majority of us would stand a pretty good chance to be enslaved by our superiors; and this is just what the people of the South have been advocating for the last ten years. And allow me, right here, to add a few appropriate extracts from some of their leading journals to show the laboring classes, particularly the "mud-sills," of Democracy, what is in store for them in case the hellish designs of these Infernal Southern Traitors should be successful.

A leading and influential paper in South Carolina said: "Slavery is the natural and moral condition of the laboring man, whether *white or black*."

"The great evil of Northern free society is that it is burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers unfit for self-government, yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens." "Master and Slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child, and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a *delusion*."

From the *Richmond Enquirer*: "Repeatedly we have asked the North, has not the experiment of universal Liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? And do not most thinking men among you propose to subvert or reconstruct? still no answer." "This gloomy silence is another conclusive evidence we have furnished, that free society in the long run, is an impractical form of society; it is everywhere, starving, demoralizing and insurrectionary. "We repeat then, that humanity and policy alike forbid the existence of the evils of free society to new and coming generations." "Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men co-exist and endure." "The one must give way, and cease to exist, and the other become universal." "If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall and give place to slave society, a social system as old as the world, as universal as man."

"While it is far more obvious that Negroes should be slaves than

is right; but it is upon the same principle that a man deficient in the organs of Time and Tune would say that a jargon of discordant sounds were good music. He being radically deficient in these organs, in consequence of which he is unable to distinguish one note from another, all sounds, however harsh, and discordant, are alike musical to his uncultivated ear. So with regard to persons who are deficient in the organs of Conscientiousness; they are incapable of making nice discriminations between right and wrong, and hence all acts are alike rights to *them*, so long as their private interests are not affected.

If a man be capable of earning five hundred dollars per annum, and it costs only one-fifth of that amount to feed and clothe him, what greater right have you to forcibly appropriate his services, and reserve the additional four hundred for your *own* use, then you would have to knock him down on the highway and take it from him after he had earned it from some one else? Although the legal forms of society may protect you in the former act, there is no difference in the principle; as both the motive and the effect are the same. In either case, you obtain a consideration for which you render no equivalent. There is this difference, however, in favor of highway robbery: The latter takes his purse only, leaving him free in mind and body, free in his domestic relations with the privilege of cutting his wife and children his *own*; while slavery robs his muscles of their elasticity by overtasking them, cramps and dwarfs his moral and intellectual powers, reduces his manhood to a *mere chattel*, and sells his wife and children into perpetual bondage to be degraded to a level with the brute creation.

whites—for they are only fit for labor and not to direct—*yet the principle of slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion.*”

“From the *Muscogee* (Ala.) *Herald*. “Free Society! we sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists?”

“All the Northern and especially the New-England States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen.” “The prevailing class one meets with, is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudging, and who are hardly fit for association with a gentleman’s body servant.”

From the *South Side* (Va.) *Democrat*: “We have got to hating every thing *free*, from free negroes, down and up, through the whole catalogue—free farms, free labor, free society, free thinking, free children, free schools, and all belonging to the same school of damnable *Isms*.” “But the worst of all these abominations is the modern system of free schools. The New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of the infidelities and treason that have turned all her deities into Sodom and Gomorrahs, and her land into the common nestling-place of howling *bedlamites*. We abominate the system because the schools are *free*.”

Gov. Pickens, of South Carolina, said: “All society settles down into *capitalists* and *laborers*, the *former will own the latter*.”

Here we find the cause and vitalizing principle of the Rebellion published to the world before the first blow was struck, namely: a firm and settled determination on the part of its originators to overthrow free society and popular government, and substitute in its place a monarchial one, based upon a Lordly Aristocracy and universal Slavery, without distinction of color. They not only propose to overturn and sweep out of existence at one fell swoop our Government and free institutions—“free schools,” “free children,” “free farms,” and everything attached to the prefix free—but they also propose to carry us back to the feudal system of kings and barons, with a land monopoly and hereditary aristocracy, entailed by laws of primogeniture.

While nearly all the monarchies of Europe are abolishing human slavery and liberalizing their institutions—while the autocrat of all the Russias is manumitting millions of serfs and giving freedom to the oppressed of humanity, it remains alone for the chivalrous sons of the South, here in this boasted land of liberty—the once-acknowledged pioneer of human rights throughout the world—to raise the BLACK ENSIGN OF SLAVE PIRACY, and endeavor to roll back the scroll of civilization and reinstate the reign of ignorance and terror which prevailed during the Dark or Middle Ages. This design is the more apparent from more recent confessions coming from the same source since the breaking out of the war. I quote from *De Bow’s Review*, the organ of Southern Aristocracy:

“The real civilization of a country is in its aristocracy. The masses are moulded into soldiers and artisans by intellect, just as matter and the elements of nature are made into telegraphs and steam engines. The poor, who labor all day, are too tired at night to study books. If you make them learned they soon forget all that is not necessary in the common transactions of life.”

"To make an aristocrat in the future, *we must sacrifice a thousand paupers*. Yet we would by all means make them—make them prominent, too, by laws of entail and primogeniture."

"Nobody feels degraded by paying respect and admiration to a nobleman."

"The right to govern resides in a very small minority; the duty to obey is inherent in the great mass of mankind."

"All government begins with usurpation, and is continued by force."

"An aristocracy is patriarchal, parental, and representative. The feudal Barons of England were next to the fathers the most perfect representative government. The King and Barons represented everybody, *because everybody belonged to them*."

"There is nothing to which the South entertains so great a dislike as universal suffrage. Wherever foreigners settle together in large numbers, their universal suffrage will exist."

"The source of all this infidelity, vice, and national demoralization is attributable, in a great measure, to the looseness and latitude of the Declaration of Independence, and to the existence of its natural outgrowth, the absurd doctrine of universal suffrage."

"The real contest of to-day is not simply between the North and South; but to determine whether for ages to come our Government shall partake more of the form of monarchies or of moral liberal governments."

Here we have, in this last sentence, the whole issue comprised in a nutshell. It is, truly, "to determine whether for ages to come our Government shall partake more of the form of monarchies, or of moral liberal governments." This is the issue which a pro-slavery aristocracy has forced upon us, and there is no other alternative than to accept the challenge and continue the contest till the one or the other of these representative principles gain the ascendancy and prevail. There can be no half-way business about it, it must be either the one thing or the other. But it requires no prophetic vision to tell which will finally triumph. The principle of darkness, which is negative, must sooner or later yield to the positive principle of light.

The *Richmond Enquirer* hath truly and philosophically said, that "two opposite and conflicting forms of society can not, among civilized men, co-exist and endure." Never did his Satanic majesty—the Prince of Darkness—utter a profounder and more significant truth. No! two opposite and antagonistic forms of society can not "co-exist and endure" side by side. Talk about the Abolitionists being the cause of the war! As well might we think of putting an alkali and an acid together without creating an effervescence, or of bringing the antagonistic forces of nature together in the thunder-cloud without a clashing of the electrical elements! Nature is eternally at war, as it were, with herself in her efforts to throw off the inferior and assume the superior. The law of eternal progress is indelibly stamped upon every atom of matter throughout the vast domains of Creation, and we can no more resist the onward march of intellect than we can arrest yon Ponderous Globe in its orbital circuit through the heavens, or bring the fiery comet to a halt as it is carried along its excentric course through space on the chariot wings of Lightning. Impious man! thinkest that thou canst change the immutable decrees of Omnipotent Power, and, with thy puny

arm, stay the progress of Humanity in its onward march through never-ending cycles of progression? Impossible. Excelsior! excelsior! onward and upward is the motto of Universal Nature.

Having hurriedly passed over the ground of the Slavery question, as connected with the present crisis, let us now turn to the consideration of a subject, at present, of the most momentous and vital importance, namely :

THE VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE WAR TO A SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION.

The people seem to be getting tired and impatient at the slow and unsatisfactory manner in which the war has been allowed to drag along ; and begin to manifest a disposition to have it brought to a close, although it be in a manner not very creditable to the dignity of our cause, nor in such a way as to insure a lasting peace.

'Tis true that a great deal of time, treasure, and bloodshed have been expended apparently to but little advantage ; and that a great deal more might have been accomplished by the same means, in the hands of competent and skillful generals ; but did the people fully comprehend the issue at stake, and the momentous consequences, for weal or woe, to the cause of liberty or humanity, not only upon this Continent, but throughout the whole civilized world, they would never think of giving up the contest till complete victory perch upon our banners, and the cause of human rights be vindicated, though it require hecatombs of new living sacrifices, and additional hundreds of millions of treasure.

The resources of the nation as a belligerent power, have, as yet, scarcely been drawn upon ; and let us now forget the past, which can not be recalled, and renew the conflict with redoubled energy, and continue to fight under the banner of freedom, till the last lingering relic of barbarism be purged from among the people, and the country be restored to a firm and lasting peace to know of war no more ! Suppose it inexorably demand the outpouring of additional rivers of blood, and the additional sacrifice of thousands of millions of treasure, is not the prize worth the consideration ? Is it not worth as great a sacrifice to preserve the tree of liberty, after having nurtured it from a seedling to full-grown maturity, and partaken of its fruits, as it cost to plant it when its delicious and health-giving qualities were then untested and comparatively unknown ?

We of the North have not as yet begun to feel the burdens of war. Go wherever you will throughout the Free States, and you will find business and all branches of industry carried on uninterruptedly, and apparent peace and plenty smiling upon all, as though nothing unusual disturbed the quiet and peace of the Nation. And but for an occasional straggling soldier in our midst, and the daily bulletins which keep us posted in regard to army movements and other military matters, we should know nothing practically of the great conflict now raging between the antagonistic forces of Slavery on the one hand and Freedom on the other. Yet, notwithstanding this, we occasionally hear loud and *ominous* murmurings from the people about the enormous burdens of taxation. Now, my dissatisfied friend, please go back with me a few years in history, to the dark and somber days of the Revolution—"the times that tried men's soul."

See that mere germ of a Nation, undeveloped in resources ; poor

in everything that tends to make a nation great and wealthy, and almost destitute of everything pertaining to warfare except brave hearts and willing hands, with no means of transportation for troops but to march them on foot for hundreds of miles through unbroken forests, and over rugged mountains, steep declivities and unbridged Rivers; poorly fed and worse clad, contending, with all these disadvantages, for a series of years with one of the most powerful Nations of Europe on the one hand, and the merciless Indians on the other! Behold that half-starved and half-naked army at Valley Forge, nearly buried beneath the snows of a rigorous and inclement winter, with its Noble Commander's head bowed in sorrow and weeping bitter tears of anguish for the distresses of the young and budding Nation! How patiently and enduringly that Noble Band of Patriots, leagued together apparently in a forlorn hope against the aggressions of British tyranny, undergo the toils and fatigues of campaign after campaign, submitting to every species of hardship incident to a soldier's life, that you and I might enjoy the blessings of liberty! O, then reflect upon the history of the past, and let it not be said that we are the degenerate sons of such noble sires.

Let not our children rise up in judgment against us, and say that we have proved recreant to the trust which our forefathers committed to our keeping. It was to bequeath to *their* posterity the priceless boon of Liberty, that they so valiantly fought and bled! Shall we do less to transmit the munificent gift unimpaired to ours? O, Americans! let me entreat you, then, in the name of Justice and humanity—in the name of Universal Freedom throughout the World—by the cherished memories of the Past, and the fond hopes of the Future—in behalf of the respect which we owe to our Ancestors, and the love which we bear to our children and our children's children, not to betray the sacred cause in which we are engaged, by yielding to the insolent demands of a liberty-hating and unscrupulous foe.

What though it still demand the sacrifice of those whom we fondly cherish and hold nearest in our affections? They are not lost to us, but are simply changed to a condition wherein they are still with us in thought and affection, ready to embrace us when we pass through the dark portals of death's gate to a World of Immortality, and a few short years of time are but a drop in the great Ocean of Eternity. What though the Demon of War were to sweep over the entire land with the besom of destruction, laying in waste our fields, despoiling our homes, and leaving us exposed to the inhospitable elements, with nothing but the broad canopy of Heaven to shield and protect us?

We could go to work with stout hearts and willing hands, and in a few short years rebuild them; but let the mighty Temple of Universal Liberty, which now seems to be tottering from turret to foundation, once come down with a crash, and so great and overwhelming would be the destruction, that it would require centuries to exhume the broken fragments and timbers from the chaotic ruins, and once more rear aloft the Noble Edifice, fully restored to its pristine glory!

But no such sacrifice is required at our hands. All that is now wanted is a union at *home*, and a vigorous prosecution of the war according to the programme of the President's late Proclamation.

It may cost a few more hundreds of millions yet, but what of that?

We had better bequeath to posterity a debt of ten times the amount, with the Union unimpaired, than the mere fragment of a Country, shorn of its strength and glory, but unincumbered with a National debt. The former might, in time, be liquidated, but the latter could *never* be restored.

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